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THIS IS UNEVALUATED INFORMATION

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25X1. Party Directives, Orders, Instructions

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25X1. [REDACTED] The policy
of cooperation with the Democratic Parties, which was followed by the Communist
Party until September 9, 1944 is basically different from the one that the Party
follows today. This change did not come about immediately after the coup-d'etat
of 1944, but passed through the well known and so-called Fatherland Front's
"stages". During everyone of these stages the Party's policy has undergone a
change to fit in with the goal that the Communists want to attain, the Bolshev-
ization of Bulgaria.

2. In spite of the fact that it is in power, the Communist Party has retained its
conspiratorial character. It is for this particular reason that the orders,
directives, instructions, etc., that are being issued by the Party are
official - open and secret; and confidential. These instructions, directives
and orders are received by the Central Committee of the Party from the Head-
quarters of the Cominform or directly from Moscow, and then the Committee dis-
tributes them to its different sections. The instructions, orders, and di-
rectives have to do with internal Party policy matters, organizational and
military matters, Party tactics, agrarian matters, and internal and foreign
politics. The confidential ones never deviate from the common general Party
line. The official ones vary according to the occasion, the motives and the
aims, pursued by the Politbureau in Moscow, the Cominform, and the Bulgarian
Communist Party at any certain period of time.

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3. To clarify this [REDACTED] enumerate some of the orders, instructions and di-
rectives that were issued by the Bulgarian Communist Party after September 9,
1944.

- a. Officially, the Bulgarian Communist Party undertook the obligation to as-
sure the right of the rest of the political parties, members of the Gov-
ernment Coalition, to have equal say in the Peoples' Militia and to have
their representatives head different sections of the Militia, which they
were to administer as they saw fit. Unofficially, the representatives
of the Non-Communist Parties, according to the secret directives of the
Central Committee of the Communist Party, were being forced out when

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they presented themselves at the Militia's Headquarters to take charge of the sections that were assigned to them.

- b. Officially, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party issued an order to its Party members commanding that they reorganize the Fatherland Front Committees by accepting in them the representatives of the member parties of the Fatherland Front on an equal basis, with equal rights and obligations. Unofficially, the Central Committee issued a confidential circular letter, ordering the Communist Party's Committees in the districts, the counties, and the cities, to take over completely and to re-enforce the position of the Party in the Fatherland Front Committees.
- c. Officially, the Central Committee of the Party declared that all the parties that were in the coalition had equal rights in the government. Unofficially, it was issuing orders to its functionaries in which it was revoking or changing the essence of the Ministerial Council's orders and resolutions.
- d. Officially, the Central Committee came out with a declaration that it would not interfere with the internal party policies of the non-Communist parties. Unofficially, Georgi Dimitrov sent instructions to the Central Committee to pick out loyal Party functionaries whose duty would be to infiltrate the non-Communist parties in the Fatherland Front and, either through threats or by compromising them, to secure the services of members of these parties, who they could use as informants or associates. Then they could be used also for helping the Communists to take over the parties as a whole from the inside.
- e. Officially, the Central Committee issued an order to the Peoples' Militia to stop the arrests of regular army officers, after the notorious Fourth Enactment. (That enactment was voted by the Ministerial Council on the insistence of the Minister of National Defense, General Damian Velthev. [redacted] the story in Sofia at the time was that the Communists in the Cabinet had voted for that enactment, but later on instructions from the Soviets [redacted] had gone against it. The other story spread by the Communists was that the Ministerial Council had voted that enactment in the absence of the Communists. There is no reason whatsoever to believe that version. On the insistence of the Communist Party a monstrous meeting was called in Sofia to express the so-called popular desire for the repudiation of this enactment. Damian Velthev himself was obliged, although he was the author of this enactment, to speak at the meeting and go back on his own idea. [redacted] the later developments as far as he is concerned had their beginning at this moment. Velthev is now in Switzerland.) Unofficially, the Central Committee of the Party instructed its military section to reorganize the Intelligence Department (Razuznavatelen Otdel 2) in the Ministry of Defense, and to see to it that this Department, in close collaboration with the Militia, would continue the arrests and the extermination of the regular army officers.
- f. Officially, the Central Committee came out with a large number of declarations for the establishment of a Democratic and legal order in the country. Unofficially, from Moscow, Georgi Dimitrov had sent a confidential order to the Central Committee to use the Peoples' Courts for the extermination of the largest number possible of the enemies of Communism.
- g. Because of external political considerations, during the first Fatherland Front's "stage", the Central Committee, on instructions from Moscow, continuously declared and insisted that the Fatherland Front's Coalition should be kept in its initial composition at all costs. Unofficially, the Central Committee of the Party tried to split the non-Communist parties so that it could use them more advantageously to mislead the outside world during its period of camouflage.

Rupture amongst the Members of the Politbureau or Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on the Activity of the Party.

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25X1 4. [redacted] the rupture [redacted] amongst 25X1
 25X1 the high ranking leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party [redacted]
 25X1 [redacted]
 25X1 [redacted]
 25X1 [redacted]
 25X1 [redacted]
 25X1 [redacted]

25X1 5. One of the most important elements in this case was the major infiltration in
 25X1 the ranks of the Bulgarian Communist Party that was managed by the Bulgarian
 State Police in 1942. [redacted] the former State Police
 had managed to infiltrate very deeply the ranks of the Bulgarian Communist
 Party so that it was in a position to keep an eye on all activity and to dis-
 rupt it periodically.

6. In the beginning of 1942, the Comintern sent from Moscow at first two high
 ranking Communist military officials, Colonel Radionov and General Christo
 Michailov, to organize an armed guerrilla movement. A few months after their
 arrival in Bulgaria, Moscow sent armed parachute groups and a group of polit-
 ical organizers who were brought over by a Soviet submarine and deposited at
 the mouth of the Kamtchia River. Four months after the arrival of the high
 ranking organizers and a few weeks after the dropping of the parachutists,
 the State Police rendered harmless the "guests" from the USSR and arrested
 the entire Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. From that
 moment the Comintern, respectively the Moscow Politbureau, lost confidence
 in the leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party who were in Bulgaria.

25X1 7. After September 9, 1944, a special commission arrived in Bulgaria from Moscow
 25X1 to carry on an inquiry about the above mishap. This commission could not find
 25X1 a single living ex-policeman from section A, (that is the section in the
 former State Security that had charge of communistic activity and kept a vig-
 25X1 ilant guard on the Communists in Bulgaria), so that it could not interrogate
 them and find out the truth of the matter. They were not to be found for the
 simple reason that every one of them had been killed during the first days of
 the Coup d'Etat. [redacted]

25X1 The inquiry did not bring out anything positive and this infiltration of the
 State Police in the ranks of the Party remained as an open wound in the admin-
 istrative body of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

8. The Bulgarian Communists who arrived from Moscow had received instructions to
 occupy all the important and key positions in the government. In that re-
 spect they acted unscrupulously not only towards the non-Communist parties in
 the Fatherland Front Coalition, but also towards the local Communists. That
 gave birth to the bitter antagonism which developed later into a ferocious
 fight between the local Bulgarian Communists and those who had come back home
 from Moscow. And thus at the end of 1945 the two feuding political factions
 in the Bulgarian Communist Party were formed.

9. At the end of 1946 in the ranks of the Bulgarian Communist Party appeared
 clearly a third political faction. In the midst of the Communists who came
 back from the USSR sprang up the old antagonism, that had existed also during
 their exile. This faction is made up primarily of intellectuals who had been
 studying in the USSR and who united themselves around Vassil Kolarov. This
 clique being a more moderate one, preferred the clique of Traicho Kostov,
 which in reality represented the majority of the Party.

10. There is no doubt that Moscow put its full confidence in the clique of Georgi
 Dimitrov and Vulko Tchervenkov and carried the purge for its stabilization.
 In carrying out the purge a very extensive use was made of the large infiltra-
 tion of the former State Police in the Party ranks in 1942. That instance was
 being put to some purpose for a second time.

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Organizational Conflict among the Parties of the Fatherland Front.

11. The Fatherland Front Coalition government which was formed on September 9, 1944 by the Agrarians, Communists, Zveno, Social-Democrats and Independent Intellectuals, issued a government program which proclaimed the principles of Democracy. The Communists, who got the Ministry of the Interior, meaning the Police, began their illegal activity and started breaking systematically the promises that they had made to the other parties in the coalition government. The resolutions of the Ministerial Council were not put into execution by the Communists when they were not in unison with the confidential instructions that Moscow had sent to the Party.
12. The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its representatives in the Cabinet exerted a strong pressure on the other parties in the government, and from the very start they transferred a certain degree of the executive power to the Fatherland Front Committees, formed and dominated by them. These Fatherland Front Committees, which were irresponsible and non-executive organs, acted therefore as executors of the non-official directives, orders and instructions of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.
13. At this point came about the first clash between the Communists and the other parties in the coalition government. The lead was taken by the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, which declared openly its opposition.
14. The continuous terroristic actions, the murders and the kidnappings which were carried out by the Communist Militia gave cause to the non-Communist parties to voice protests over and over again, but their protests got no results. The official Communist representatives in the Cabinet gave solemn promises that these irregularities would be stopped but at the same time the non-official Communist functionaries were carrying out the confidential instructions and orders of the Central Committee for the intimidation and the quick suppression of the rising opposition in the government.
15. This state of affairs brought about the arrest and the murder of the more active and important politicians, mainly those of the Agrarian Union. The Fourth Enactment of the Ministerial Council was issued for giving protection to the regular army officers against the illegal activities of the Militia. This caused nervousness and fear among the Communists and they managed, with the intervention of the Soviet Control Commission, to abrogate it.
16. After this action the Communists increased their terroristic activity, but this time against the high ranking non-Communist leaders in the Fatherland Front.
17. In July of 1945 a cabinet crisis was instigated. On July 31, 1945, as a protest against the totalitarian methods of the Communists, Nicola Petkov resigned from the Cabinet and openly declared himself in opposition. On August 17, 1945 the rest of the Agrarian representatives in the Cabinet also resigned, and they were followed by the representatives of the Socialists and the only representative of the Independent Intellectuals in the Cabinet, Professor Petko Stoyanov.
18. According to the instructions that Georgi Dimitrov had given at the end of 1944 for infiltrating and taking over the non-Communist parties in the Fatherland Front, the Communists had by now succeeded in recruiting as their agents members of the Socialist and the Agrarian parties. These men left their respective parties, proclaiming their discontent with the policies that were followed, and formed new parties under the same names, but in reality these were only sections of the Communist Party. In this way the Communists tried to save the appearances, at least as far as the outside world is concerned, of the representative character of the Fatherland Front Coalition, which they presented as the same which was formed on September 9, 1944.

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Personalities, Historical Data on the Party.

19. In 1903 Dimitar Blagoev, (considered as founder of the Bulgarian Communist Party and called Grandfather Blagoev - Dedo), and Kirkov left the Socialist Party and formed the so-called Party of the Narrow Socialists, renamed consequently the Bulgarian Communist Party. Until 1923 the Communist Party was insignificant and exerted a very slight influence in the political life of the country.
20. After the Coup d'Etat of June 9, 1923 the Communist Party participated in the so-called Common Front against the instigators of the Coup d'Etat, but avoided taking part in the battles that were fought by the Agrarians. After the unsuccessful "September" uprising, the nucleus of the Bulgarian Communist Party escaped to Moscow where they formed the Bureau of the Party in exile.
21. In 1925 the Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party in exile had been preparing an armed uprising which they had expected to break out immediately after the bomb attack in the Cathedral in Sofia, "Sveta Nedelia". This uprising never started, but the bomb attack had as a result large scale persecutions against the Communists in Bulgaria. The Communist Party was declared illegal and new refugee groups of Communists headed for Moscow.
22. In 1932 after the fall of the government of Andrei Liaptchev and the coming to power of the National Block, a certain number of the Communists that were in prison regained their liberty, thanks to an amnesty that the new cabinet granted. According to the directives of the Bureau of the Party in exile, they formed a legal party, called the Bulgarian Workers Party, which served as a cover for the existing illegal Communist Party.
23. After the Coup d'Etat of May 19, 1934 the new government dissolved all the political parties and the Workers Party suffered the same fate. This government action had the least effect on the Communist Party for the simple reason that this party had been working underground up to that moment, and it continued to exist and work underground.
24. From June 9, 1923 to September 9, 1944 the Bulgarian Communist Party had existed as an underground party. After that date it took the reins of the government.

Dimitrov's Union of the Peoples' Youth.

25. This Union has been called by the Communists "Mass Organization of the Workers' and the Peasants' Youth". Officially, the Union is not a Party affiliate, but it comes closest to the Bulgarian Communist Party in its purpose to reeducate the Youth in the Bolshevik creed. Until March 25, 1950, when the Convention of this Union took place, it had been separated from the Workers' Youth Union or the Komsomol. After this date Vulko Tchervenkov declared officially that the Dimitrov's Union of the Peoples' Youth is a Komsomol.
26. This Union has 670,000 members. Members are comprised of approximately 90,000 workers, 200,000 village youths, with the rest of the members being artisans, employees, and especially students. The president of the Union is Gero Grozev, a deputy from the Plovdiv district.
27. Besides the Bolshevik political education which it bestows on the youth, the Union also comprises a physical culture system which is aimed to give the youth a pre-military training. This system the Communists call "Physical Culture Complex GTO, which means preparation for work and defense". The system operates under special quota tables for physical culture which are obligatory for the entire organized youth. The administration of Physical Culture in Bulgaria is entrusted to the hands of the military.

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Personal Quarrels among the Foremost Party Leaders.

28. Under totalitarian regimes and much more so under a Communist regime, the personal quarrels between the Party leaders are to a large extent encouraged by the dictator himself. In the Bulgarian Communist Party the elements that bring about personal conflicts are the extreme suspiciousness of the agents of Moscow, personal antagonisms, personal competition, struggles for supremacy, opportunism, different ideologies, etc. In these conflicts, gossip, intrigues, and slander have become daily spiritual food.
29. Up until the trial of Traicho Kostov, the accusations that the Communist Party leaders used to hurl at each other were based on so-called Leftish Factionism. Today, this Leftish Factionism is replaced by nationalistic diviations, Titoism and Traichokostovism. These accusations are being used mostly on personal grounds for the elimination of personal enemies or rivals. According to the latest reports from Bulgaria the open fight between those Bulgarian Communists that came from the USSR and the local Communists is still going on.
30. There exists a personal conflict between Vulko Tchervenkov on the one side, and Anton Yougov, Dobri Terpeshev, Stoyan Karadjov, and Tzola Dragoitcheva on the other side. A personal conflict also exists between Russi Hristozov and Anton Yougov; another between Generals Georgi Damianov and Ivan Kinov, and others.

Party Organization.

31. The Party organization of the Bulgarian Communist Party has the following bodies: Politbureau, Central Committee, District Committees, County Committees, Regional Committees, City Block Committees and Village Active Units.
32. The Central Committee is subdivided into Sections, Institutes and Bureaus, the most important of which are the following: Section "Cadres", Section "Agitprop" (agitation and propaganda), Section "Peasants Economy", Institute "For Instructors", Bureaus "Orgbureau" (organizational bureau). Every one of the sections appoints two inspectors, all of whom form the so-called "Inspectorate" attached to the Central Committee.

Methods of Internal Control.

33. The internal control in the Bulgarian Communist Party is exercised by the organs of the section "Cadres" to which are subordinated by Party rules all the Party members and all the members of the Fatherland Front Committees who hold state of public office. This section works in close collaboration with the State Control Commission, which acts as a tool of the MVD. The control is being supervised and directed by a Soviet agent of long standing, Dimo Ditchev.

Formation of Organizations controlled by the Party.

34. There have been formed or reorganized and subordinated to the Bulgarian Communist Party the following organizations, whose aim is Soviet Cultural Infiltration of Bolshevik Re-education: Bulgarian-Soviet Societies, Dimitrov's Union of the Peoples' Youth, RMS (Workers' Youth Union), Septemvriite (Organization for the reeducation of the children), BNUW (Bulgarian Peoples' Women's Union), TU (Teachers' Union), URRU (United Reading Rooms Union), SCAC (Scientific, Cultural and Arts Committee), and the Peoples' Sports Union.

Signs of Pro-Bulgarian instead of Pro-Soviet Orientation.

35. The purges that are going on continuously in the Party affect primarily those Party functionaries who attempt to follow a pro-Bulgarian orientation. This orientation is considered today as criminal, as a nationalistic one, and as extremely harmful for the development and the establishment of the Bolshevik system in Bulgaria. The pro-Bulgarian orientation is followed mainly by the local Bulgarian Communists.

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